

Message Text

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ACTION IO-03

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AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY CARACAS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BOGOTA 7578

LIMDIS

EO: 11652: GDS

TAGS: UNGA EAID XM

SUBJ: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: ASSISTANT SECRETARY LEWIS' CONSUL-
TATIONS IN MEXICO CITY

1. SUMMARY: LENGTHY AND VERY USEFUL ROUND-TABLE DISCUSSIONS WITH MEXICANS ON UNGA AND NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES COVERED OUR OFTEN CONTRASTING POSITIONS ON NIEO, CIEC, AND UNCTAD IV AND ON ROLE OF UNGA IN GENERAL; BUT ALSO REVEALED POSSIBLE AREAS OF AGREEMENT ON SPECIFICS REGARDING PUERTO RICO, HUMAN RIGHTS, TERRORISM, KOREA, AND -- TO A LIMITED EXTENT -- EVEN ON MIDDLE EAST PROBLEMS.

ASST. SECY. LEWIS, ACCOMPANIED BY AMB. JOVA, CHARLES FRANK, FROM "E", AND EMBOFFS, TOOK PART IN 5-HOUR MARATHON "BREAKFAST" MEET-
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ING JULY 26 ON PROSPECTS FOR UPCOMING UNGA, PLUS OTHER MULTILATERAL ISSUES, WITH MEXICAN FOREIGN SECRETARIAT TEAM HEADED BY DIRECTOR-IN-CHIEF FOR IO AFFAIRS AMB. SERGIO GONZALEZ GALVEZ. (SUBSEQUENT MEETING WITH FONSEC GARCIA ROBLES REPORTED SEPTTEL.) TO-

PICS COVERED INCLUDED IMPLEMENTATION OF NIEO, OUTCOME OF UNCTAD/-NAPEOBI AND PROSPECTS FOR CIEC. DISCUSSION ON UN ISSUES CONCENTRATED ON DISARMAMENT, PUERTO RICO'S UGJXUS, VARIOUS HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS, MIDDLE EAST PROSPECTS, TERRORISM PROBLEM, AND KOREA.

AT OUTSET LEWIS STRESSED INCREASED PRIORITY US NOW GIVING TO NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE IN UN AND OTHER MULTILATERAL FORUMS. HE SAID HE HOPED THAT CURRENT US EFFORT TO INTENSIFY PRE-UNGA CONSULTATIONS WITH MEXICO AND OTHER FRIENDLY GOVERNMENTS MIGHT ENCOURAGE SOME GOVERNMENTS WHICH WILL BE REPRESENTED AT COLOMBO NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT TO AVOID CONFRONTATIONAL FORMULATIONS IN THE COLOMBO DOCUMENTS AND THUS REDUCE CHANCES OF US POLITICAL BACKLASH OVER SUBSEQUENT UNGA HANDLING OF SUCH SENSITIVE ISSUES AS PANAMA CANAL AND PUERTO RICO. GONZALEZ GALVEZ WARNED THAT MEXICO, AS MERELY OBSERVER AT COLOMBO, WOULD HAVE VERY LIMITED CAPACITY TO LOBBY IN THAT FORUM; BUT HE WELCOMED "RENEWAL" OF SERIOUS USG INTEREST IN UN AFTER WHAT HAD SEEMED TO MEXICANS LOSS OF FAITH ON OUR PART. BOTH SIDES AGREED ON DESIRABILITY OF CLOSER CONSULTATION IN NEW YORK BETWEEN RESPECTIVE UN MISSIONS. END SUMMARY

2. IMPLEMENTING NIEO: UNCTAD AND CIEC.

HEADING MEXICO'S LIST OF

KEY UNGA ISSUES, SAID GONZALEZ, WAS HOW

TO OVERCOME OBSTACLES TO IMPLEMENTING NIEO. PRESSED TO DEFINE UNGA ROLE IN THIS REGARD, HOWEVER, HE POINTED ONLY TO NEED FOR CAREFUL STUDY OF UNCTAD REPORT AND FOR RESTRUCTURE OF OVERLAPPING UNCTAD AND ECOSOC FUNCTIONS (GOM THINKS ALL ECONOMIC MATTERS MIGHT BE

ENT-

RUSTED TO UNCTAD, AND ECOSOC'S BAILIWICK LIMITED TO SOCIAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS.) GONZALEZ HAD POOR OPINION OF CHAIRMAN DADZIE'S NEW CONSOLIDATED SINGLE TEXT. LEWIS OBSERVED RESTRUCTURING REALLY DIDN'T GET TO HEART OF OUR DIFFERENCES OVER NIEO. BOTH AGREED, HOWEVER, ON NEED TO GIVE HIGHER PRIORITY AND STRONG PUSH TO UN "RESTRUCTURING EFFORT."

--UNCTAD/NAIROBI. MEXDEL UNDERSCORED DIFFERENCES OVER NIEO AT CONFIDENTIAL

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LENGTH IN DISCUSSING NAIROBI RESULTS, STRESSING MEXICO'S "DISINTERESTED" COMMITMENT TO G-77 GOALS; ITS SPECIAL CONCERN FOR SOVEREIGNTY OVER RAW MATERIALS; AND ITS SUSPICION THAT OUR PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL RESOURCE BANK (IRB) WOULD AID TNC'S MORE THAN LDC'S. SAID IRB NEEDED MUCH FURTHER STUDY. MEXICANS CONCEDED THAT RAW MATERIALS PRODUCTION WAS IMPORTANT, BUT NO MORE SO THAN STABLE PRICING, MARKETS, TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER, TRANSPORT, NONPOLITICAL FINANCING, AND ABOVE ALL SOVEREIGNTY -- NONE OF WHICH ADDRESSED BY U.S. PROPOSALS. IN LIGHT OF MEXDEL COMMENTS, LEWIS EXPRESSED SURPRISE MEXICO HAD VOTED AGAINST OUR UNCTAD PROPOSAL FOR MORE STUDY OF U.S. PROPOSAL; FRANK ELABORATED SOMEWHAT ON CONCEPT, AND NOTED PROPOSAL WAS NOT INTENDED TO STAND BY ITSELF, BUT WAS VISUALIZED AS PART OF COMPREHENSIVE COMMODITIES PROGRAM. MEXICANS

STRESSED NEED FOR MORE INFO ABOUT IRB PROPOSAL. FRANK SAID USG WAS WORKING ON AN ELABORATION, AND THAT QUESTIONS RAISED IN MEXICO COULD HELP ON THAT EFFORT.

-- CIEC. MEXDEL WAS NOW VERY PESSIMISTIC ABOUT PARIS MEETINGS. THEY SAW LITTLE HOPE FOR PROGRESS THIS YEAR, ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT OF U.S. ELECTIONS. MEXDEL TOOK PAINS TO REJECT ANY EQUATION OF CIEC WITH UNCTAD, STRESSING CIEC'S VERY TEMPORARY MANDATE AND LIMITED MEMBERSHIP. THEY ALLEGED THAT U.S. HAD FOCUSED MEETINGS ON ENERGY AND OIL PRICING, AND ALL ELSE HAD BEEN RELATIVELY NEGLECTED (SOME OF G-19, SAID GONZALEZ, BELIEVED G-8 WERE DETERMINED TO DIVIDE AND CONQUER). FRANK RESPONDED THAT U.S. HAD ORIGINALLY PROPOSED ONLY PROEBFER-CONSUMER#DISCUSSION ON ENERGY; BROADER COMMISSION ESTABLISHED AT LDC INSISTENCE. WE LIKE GOM SEE CIEC AS A FORUM WITH LIMITED LIFE, BUT ONE WITH POTENTIAL FOR USEFUL RESULTS IN ENERGY COOPERATION, DEBT, AND INVESTMENT IN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT. WE REMAINED OPEN TO AN EARLY RESUMPTION OF CIEC DIALOGUE, BUT ALSO AWAIT FURTHER LDC INITIATIVES.

3. DISARMAMENT

CLEARLY SPEAKING FOR HIS BOSS, FONSEC GARCIA ROBLES' PRIVATE SECRETARY MIGUS# L#MARIN STRESSED CONFUSION AND LACK OF PROGRESS IN UN ON DISARMAMENT. WITH OVER 100 ARMED CONFLICTS SINCE WWII, MEXICO FELT IT HIGH TIME TO APPROACH PROBLEM MORE SERIOUSLY AND URGED SPECIAL UNGA SESSION AIMED INTERALIA AT PREPARING FOR A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE. IN CCD, MEXICO HAS URGED ROTATING CHAIRMANSHIP AS ONLY WAY TO ENLIST CHINESE AND FRENCH PARTICIPATION. CONFIDENTIAL

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(MARIN ADMITTED THAT SOVIETS WERE MAIN OBSTACLE HERE, NOT U.S.) AND WITHIN THIS HEMISPHERE, MEXICAN ARGUED VERY VIGOROUSLY FOR U.S. ADHERENCE TO PROTOCOL I OF TREATY OF TLATELOLCO (LA/NFZ) AS KEY TO PERSUADING CUBANS TO SIGN ON AND ARGENTINES AND BRAZILIANS TO PARTICIPATE FULLY. GONZALEZ ADDED THAT HIGH-LEVEL GOM MISSION WAS SOON GOING TO HAVANA FOR THIS PURPOSE, WHOSE ARGUMENTS WOULD BE ENORMOUSLY STRENGTHENED BY U.S. ADHERENCE.

REPLYING, LEWIS SAID:

A) WE WERE SKEPTICAL REGARDING UTILITY OF WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE AND EXPECTATIONS IT MIGHT RAISE IF THERE WERE NO POSITIVE RESULTS, AND WE HAD SIMILAR MISGIVINGS ABOUT SPECIAL UN SESSION;

B) WE FAVOR PROCEDURAL FLEXIBILITY AVAILABLE NOW WITHIN CCD, RATHER THAN MORE RIGID PROCEDURES IN OTHER BODIES; IF THAT COULD BE MAINTAINED, WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO BE QUITE FLEXIBLE ON CO-CHAIRMANSHIP.

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LIMDIS

C) WE WERE EXTREMELY SUPPORTIVE OF TLATELOLCO TREATY AS ONE OF ALL TOO FEW DISARMAMENT ACHIEVEMENTS, BUT WE WOULD FIND IT EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO COMPROMISE OUR OWN SOVEREIGNTY CONSIDERATIONS ON PROTOCOL I WITH RESPECT TO PUERTO RICO AND VIRGIN ISLANDS, WHICH WE REGARD AS INTEGRAL PARTS OF U.S.

GONZALEZ CONTINUED TO PRESS ON PROTOCOL I. SPEAKING, HE SAID, AT FONSEC'S SPECIFIC DIRECTION, HE NOTED POINTEDLY THAT TREATY LANGUAGE DID NOT EXCLUDE RESERVATIONS. HE ASKED THAT WE CAREFULLY REVIEW OUR POSITION IN THIS LIGHT. GONZALEZ SAID SECRETARY KISSINGER HAD TOLD GARCIA ROBLES THAT HE DOUBTED THERE WERE NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN PUERTO RICO (OR ELSEWHERE IN TREATY ZONE) ANYWAY; THAT BRAZIL AND ARGENTINA, BOTH OF WHOM ARE ACCUMULATING "FRIGHTENING AMOUNTS OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY" WOULD BE STGBONGLY#INFLUENCED BY U. CONFIDENTIAL

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S. ADHERENCE TO PROTOCOL I; AND THAT GOM WAS PRESSING SOVIETS EVEN HARDER TO ADHERE TO PROTOCOL II. LEWIS RECOUNTED BASIC POLITICAL AND STRATEGIC OBSTACLES, BUT ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IMPLICATIONS FOR OUR NON-PROLIFERATION EFFORTS IN HEMISPHERE WOULD ALSO WARRANT CAREFUL WEIGHT. HE ASKED WHETHER U.S. ADHERANCE TO PROTOCOL I WOULD IN MEXCEL'S VIEW LEAD TO ARGENTINE RATIFICATION AND FULL BRAZILIAN ADHERANCE. GONZALEZ SAID HE WAS CERTAIN IT WOULD "HAVE

AN IMPORTANT IMPACT", AND "ON THE CUBANS AS WELL". DISCUSSION CONCLUDED BY LEWIS ASSURING GONZALEZ THAT WE WOULD REVIEW PROTOCOL I ISSUE AGAIN WITH CARE IN LIGHT OF MEXICAN PRESENTATION.

4. PUERTO RICO (PR)

LEWIS TRACED IN DETAIL HISTORY OF PR SELF-DETERMINATION, PREVIOUS UNGA ACTION, AND RECENT CUBAN EFFORTS TO REVIVE THIS ISSUE IN UN, WONDERING WHY OTHERS SEEMED WILLING TO PLAY CUBANS' GAME. WE AND PEOPLE OF PR WOULD FIND IT OFFENSIVE FOR UNGA TO TAKE UP PR FOR DISCUSSION, HE WARNED -- AN UNFRIENDLY ACT OF INTERVENTION IN OUR INTERNAL AFFAIRS WHICH WOULD OBLIGE US TO REACT VIGOROUSLY. IF A UN RESOLUTION WERE ADOPTED ON PR, OUR UNGA DELEGATION WOULD BE WITHDRAWN. LEWIS URGED MEXICANS DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO AVOID ACTION AT COLOMBO NAC WHICH COULD LEAD TO UNGA CONFRONTATION. (GONZALEZ PROMISED ONLY TO TAKE NOTE OF OUR COMMENTS, BUT SAID GOM SHARED OUR DEFINITION OF PR SELF-DETERMINATION.)

LEWIS CONTINUED THAT WE WERE SURPRISED BY STATEMENTS MADE TO SCRANTON BY YUGOSLAVS THAT LATIN AMERICAN OBSERVERS AND MEMBERS OF NAC WERE SUPPORTING CUBAN THESIS THAT EARLIER REFERENDA IN PR WERE ILLEGAL MEASURES OF POPULAR WILL DUE TO US HISTORICAL ROLE. ACCORDING TO YUGOSLAVS, NOT JUST CUBANS BUT MEXICANS, BRAZILIANS, AND OTHER LA'S HAD TAKEN THIS LINE AND URGED UN SUPERVISED REFERENDUM "TO PUT THE ISSUE TO REST." GONZALEZ REPLIED WITH "AN OFFICIAL DENIAL" THAT MEXICO HAD EXPRESSED ANY SUCH VIEW TO THE YUGOSLAVS. HOWEVER, HE SAID HE WOULD CABLE BELGRADE TO CHECK FURTHER ON REPORT. (FONSEC BARCIA ROBLES LATER EXPRESSED BAFFLEMENT OVER REPORT AND SAID FLATLY THAT SO FAR AS HE KNEW MEXICO HAD NEVER DISCUSSED PR WITH YUGOSLAVS.)

5. HUMAN RIGHTS, ETC.

A GRAB-BAG OF TOPICS WERE DISCUSSED UNDER THIS HEADING:

A) AMB JOVE DESCRIBED U.S. DECISION TO EARMARK LARGER PROPORTION OF OUR OAS VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTION TO SUPPORT WORK OF IA/HRC AND URGED MEXICANS DO SAME. (GONZALEZ SAID THIS SOUNDED LIKE A FINE IDEA.)

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B) GONZALEZ NOTED GOM SUSPICION OF CHILEAN PROPOSAL TO CODIFY RULES TO GOVERN HRC INVESTIGATIONS. (LEWIS SAID WE FAVORED EXPANDING HRC ACTIVITIES, STRONGER MULTI-LATERAL MACHINERY, AND MORE LATITUDE FOR INVESTIGATIONS.)

C) LEWIS STATED OUR CONCERN OVER FURTHER EFFORTS IN UNGA TO EQUATE ZIONISM WITH RACISM AND OVER LINKAGE TO DECADE AGAINST RACISM. (GONZALEZ SAID GOM POSITION UNCHANGED BUT FUTURE MEXICAN VOTES ON ZIONISM WILL DEPEND ON "CONTEXT".)

D) ONS

#AMNESTY PROPOSAL, GONZALEZ SAID WE HAD AN EXCELLENT INITIATIVE BUT HAD DEFEATED OURSELVES BY CONFRONTATION-INDUCING MANNER IN WHICH WE PRESENTED IT. HE HOPED WE WOULD PURSUE IT THIS YEAR, AND OFFERED MEXICAN SUPPORT.

E) SOUTHERN AFRICA POSED MAJOR HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS TO UN AND WORLD, SAID GONZALEZ, AND SOUTH AFRICANS HAD TO BE PRESSURED HARDER TO MOVE TO AVOID VIOLENT EXPLOSION. MEXICO WAS ESCALATING ITS OWN SANCTIONS AGAINST S. AFRICA TO THIS END, UNGA SHOULD DO LIKEWISE, AND USG SHOULD RECONSIDER ITS SC VETO OF COERCIVE MEASURES. (LEWIS NOTED OUR EFFORTS TO APPLY MORAL AND POLITICAL PRESSURE TO ACHIEVE MORE RAPID CHANGE, AND OUR MISGIVINGS REGARDING MANDATORY SANCTIONS IN LIGHT OF SPOTTY RECORD OF ENFORCEMENT AGAINST SHODEISA.

6. MIDDLE EAST

GONZALEZ IDENTIFIED THREE ELEMENTS IN GOM POLICY;

(A) TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF ISRAEL (MEXICAN AND IRAQI FORMS HAD RECENTLY FAILED TO ISSUE JOINT COMMUNIQUE DUE TO CLASH ON THIS POINT); (B) PALESTINIAN SELF-DETERMINATION (ESSENTIAL INGREDIENT IN ANY REALISTIC FORMULA, UNFORTUNATELY OMITTED FROM STEP-BY-STEP NEGOTIATIONS); AND (C) "TIMETABLE" FOR IMPLEMENTING RES. 242. (GONZALEZ PUSHED THIS IDEA IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION WITH LEWIS OVER BREAKFAST. LEWIS EXPRESSED GREAT SKEPTICISM.)

LEWIS AFFIRMED OUR SUPPORT FOR 242 AND 338 BUT WARNED ISRAEL HAD TO BE CONVINCED ITS SECURITY WOULD BE ASSURED BEFORE IT WOULD CONSIDER WITHDRAWAL FROM OCCUPIED TERRITORIES -- AND DESPITE COMMON MISCONCEPTION, U.S. COULD NOT COERCE ISRAEL IN THIS REGARD. ANY TIMETABLE ADOPTED BY GA THIS YEAR WOULD HARDLY CONTRIBUTE, CONFIDENTIAL

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TAINTLY NOT UNTIL ALL PARTIES COULD AGREE ON MODALITIES FOR A NEW GENEVA-TYPE CONFERENCE (ADDING EVENTS IN LEBANON MIGHT FINALLY FOSTER SUCH AN EFFORT).

7. TERRORISM AND "SELF DEFENSE"

GONZALEZ REFERRED TO GOM LETTER TO SECURITY COUNCIL ON ENTEBBE HIJACKING, AND RECITED MEXICO'S HISTORY OF SUPPORT FOR NARROWLY-FOCUSED INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS TO COMBAT HIJACKING, ASSAULTS ON DIPLOMATS, ETC., WHILE OPPOSING BROADER ANTI-TERRORISM PROPOSALS WHICH WOULD RUN AGAIND OF POLITICAL CROSS CURRENTS. LEWIS AGREED IT WAS BETTER TO ZERO IN ON SPECIFIC PROBLEMS LIKE HIJACKING OR PROTECTION OF INNOCENT HOSTAGES.

ON OTHER SIDE OF COIN, SAID GONZALEZ, GOM DISSOCIATED ITSELF FROM ALL FORMS OF VIOLENCE, EVEN THAT JUSTIFIED BY "HUMANITARIAN" CONCERNS. HENCE, US STATEMENT APPROVING ENTEBBE RESCUE AS "SELF-DEFENSE" HAD BOTHERED MEXICO SINCE IT TENDED TOWARD RETURN TO LAW OF JUNGLE. LEWIS ARGUED THAT STATE'S ULTIMATE RESPONSIBILITY IS DEFENSE OF ITS CITIZENS, AND THAT UGANDA HAD CLEARLY FAILED CARRY OUT ITS RESPONSIBILITIES TO VICTIMS OF TERRORISM. BUT GONZALEZ INSISTED "SELF DEFENSE" EXCUSE WAS TWO-EDGED SWORD WHICH AGRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS WOULD NOW BE TEMPTED TO USE TO JUSTIFY ARMED FORCE IN ACHIEVING SELF-DETERMINATION -- A "PERVERSION" OF CHARTER ART. 51. LEWIS AGREED A DANGER LURKED HERE.

8. KOREA

WINDING UP DISCUSSION, LEWIS RECALLED FRUSTRATING HISTORY OF OP-
POSING KOREAN RESOLUTIONS, REVIEWED U.S. POSITION, AND CALLED
ATTENTION TO REFINEMENTS IN SECRETARY'S SEATTLE SPEECH: A PRO-
POSAL FOR A FOUR-POWER CONFERENCE DURING THIS YEAR'S UNGA PERIOD
AIMED ULTIMATELY AT DISSOLVING UN COMMAND WHILE ENSURING A SECURE,
PERMANENT SUBSTITUTE FOR ARMISTICE ARRANGEMENT. HE STRESSED THAT
WE WISH TO AVOID ANOTHER FRUITLESS ROUND OF CONFRONTATION AT UNGA
BUT THAT WE ARE PREPARED FOR ANOTHER BATTLE OF RESOLUTIONS IF NE-
CESSARY, AND ARE OPTIMISTIC OUR SIDE WILL HOLD FIRM. GONZALEZ
REPLIED THAT MEXICO IS TRADITIONALLY COMMITTED NOT TO OPPOSE IN-
SCRIPTION OF ANY ITEMS FOR DISCUSSION, HOWEVER CONTRADICTIONARY THEY
MAY APPEAR. NEVERTHELESS, GOM WOULD LOOK WITH FAVOR UPON ANY PRO-
POSALS AIMED AT RESOLVING IMPASSE EQUITABLY, AND WILL STUDY SEC-
RETARY'S SPEECH WITH CARE AND GREAT INTEREST.

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9. MEETING ENDED WITH MUTUAL EXPRESSION OF PLEASURE AT FRANK,
CONSTRUCTIVE TONE OF EXCHANGE -- AND AGREEMENT THAT WE SHOULD URGE
OUR RESPECTIVE UN MIS-
SIONS TO CONSULT MORE CLOSELY THAN AT TIMES
IN PAST ON ALL UNGA ISSUES.
DREXLER

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